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THE MUNROS OF MILNTOWN.

BY ALEXANDER ROSS.

II.

III. ANDREW BEG MUNRO, who is said to have been of a very ferocious disposition, on which account he was called the "Black Baron;" but being hereditary Bailie, or Maor of Ross, during a part of Queen Mary's reign, he had no doubt to exercise great severity in the then lawless state of the country.

In 1512 King James IV. granted to Andrew Beg "the croft, called the markland of Tulloch" (Tullich) for the yearly payment of one pound of wax, payable at Midsummer within the Chapel of Delny.* The value of a pound of wax at that time, according to the Books of Exchequer, was ten shillings Scots, or tenpence sterling. The Chapel of Delny, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, stood in the old burying-ground, between the present farm-house of Delny and the county road behind it, till near the end of the last century, when James Munro, the farmer of Delny, demolished the old building and used the stones in the erection of his farm premises, and the mortar in improving his land; and ploughed up the burying-ground with the intention of adding it to the contiguous field. The late Rev. John Matheson, parish minister of Kilmuir-Easter, and grandfather of Bailie Matheson, Tain, on hearing of this species of vandalism and

* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. ii. p. 460.

sacrilege, visited the spot, and found it all covered with the bones of the dead, which had been turned up with the plough. He represented to Munro the indelicacy of his conduct, persuaded him to collect the relics, and deposit them again in the earth. This the farmer duly performed, and this neglected spot, where, perhaps, was laid—

“ Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire ;
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre ”—

was afterwards enclosed and laid out with grass.

A short distance to the north of the site of the Chapel stood the priest's house, and the spot is on that account called *Cnoc-an-t-Sagairt* (the hill of the priest), Priesthill. In the beginning of the last century, the remains of a cross stood on the hill at the extremity of the hamlet. Thither all the people belonging to the Barony or Maoridom of Delny, which comprehended a great part of the County of Ross, resorted once a year to pay homage to their superior. Here, also, the barons held their criminal courts. In ancient times the right of pit and gallows—*furca et fossa*—was the true mark of a true baron, who had jurisdiction in life and limb—*curia vitæ et membrorum*. It was not the peculiar taste of our barbarous ancestors: all feudal lords through feudal Europe were equally fond and proud of the right of executing those whom they had first convicted and sentenced to death. The French had the phrase *avec haute et basse justice*, which meant nothing more than the “right of pit and gallows.” The gallow-hill is still an object of interest, and human bones have been frequently found in its vicinity. The gallow-hill of the Barony of Milntown is situated on the march between Milntown and Balnagown, near Logie Free Church Manse; and the drowning-pool is adjacent to the Manse. Here, in 1864, while excavations were being made in connection with the construction of the railway, a number of human bones were found, the remains, no doubt, of the poor wretches who died at the hands of “Black” Andrew Munro. The “pit” was for the female criminal; for women sentenced to death were, for the most part, drowned. The “gallows” was for the male defaulters, who were invariably hanged. There is a hill within a mile of Delny called *Cnoc-na-Croich*, or the “hill of the gallows”; and on the summit of this

hill was a circular pool of water, many fathoms deep, called *Polla-bhathaidh* (the pool of drowning). Here the barons of Delny drowned and hanged their victims. It is not known when the last execution took place here; but a man who died about the year 1750, in Logie, witnessed the last execution which took place at the Milntown "drowning pool," that of a woman for child-murder.*

In the year 1512, James IV. granted also to Andrew Munro "the lands of Myltoun of Meath with the mill, the office of Chief Mair of the Earldom of Ross, which lands of Myltoun, with the mill and mairdom, had been granted to Andrew and one heir by a letter under the Privy Seal, the grantee paying eight chalders, four bolls of victual, half bear, half meal, of the lesser measure of the Earldom, and to augment the rental by eight bolls."† The Chief Maors or Maormars, were the greatest officers of great districts, and it is to them, and not to the Thanes, that Shakespeare, in "Macbeth," should have made young Malcolm address his speech—"Henceforth be Earls!" The office of Chief Maor of the Earldom of Ross was a very ancient one, and several of the fees and perquisites belonging to it were peculiar. In 1591 a decret of the Lords of Council and Session was obtained by Andrew Munro, V. of Milntown, then principal Maor, or Maor of fee of the Earldom, against Andrew Dingwall and the feuars, farmers, and possessors of the Earldom of Ross, for his fees of the office, to wit 40s. 8d. for the ordinary fee of the said Earldom yearly, and for every sack of corn brought to the shore to be shipped, "ane gopin of corn," estimated at a half-penny a lippy, and out of every chalder of victuals delivered thereat to the Maor, two pecks, etc. The collection of the Maor's fees seems to have caused some trouble, and the law had to be occasionally invoked to enforce payment.

Besides Milntown, Andrew Beg acquired by grants and purchase large possessions in many parts of Ross-shire, namely, Delny, Newmore, in the parish of Rosskeen; Contullich and Kildermorie, in the parish of Alness; Dochcarty, in the parish of Dingwall; Allan, in the parish of Fearn; and Culnaha, in the parish of Nigg; and was, on that account, and the fierceness of his

*Old Stat. Acct., vol. iv. p. 378.

† Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. xviii. No. 74, and Reg. Sec. Sig., vol. iv. fol. 195.

temper, called by the natives in the vernacular "*Andra Dubh nan seachd Caisteal*" (that is, "Black Andrew of the seven Castles"), having a castle on each of his properties.

In the present day much interest is excited in catching occasional glimpses of the ancient state of society through the chance vistas of tradition. These glimpses serve to show us, in the expressive language of Scripture, "the rock whence we were hewn, and the hole whence we were dug." They serve, too, as Hugh Miller remarks, to dissipate those dreamy imaginings of the good and happiness of the past in which it seems to be an instinct of our nature to indulge; and enables us to correct the exaggerated estimates of that school of philosophy, which sees most to admire in society the farther it recedes from civilisation.

The following is one of those chance glimpses, preserved by Hugh Miller. It is, however, obviously at variance with strict chronology; and the facts stated apparently apply to some other individual, and not to Andrew Munro III. of Milntown, as he died before Sir George Munro of Newmore was born, who is evidently the "Munro of Newmore" referred to. There was no "Munro of Newmore," contemporary with Black Andrew of Milntown, who was laird of Newmore himself; neither was Andrew Munro the last baron of Newtarbat (Milntown). Hugh Miller records:—"That an old man who died in 1829 told him, that when a boy he was sent to the Manse of Resolis to bring back the horse of an elderly gentleman, a retired officer, who had gone to visit the Rev. Hector Macphail, minister of the parish, with the intention of remaining with him a few days. The officer was a silver-headed, erect old man, who had served as an Ensign at the battle of Blenheim, and who, when he had retired on half-pay, about forty years after, was still a poor Lieutenant. His riding days were well nigh over; and the boy overtook him long ere he had reached the manse, and just as he was joined by William Forsyth, merchant, Cromarty, who had come riding up by a cross-road, and then slackened bridle to keep the officer company. The old man spoke much of the allied armies under Marlborough. By far the strongest man in them, he said, was a gentleman from Ross-shire—Munro of Newmore. He had seen him raise a piece of ordnance to his breast, which Mackenzie of Fairburn had succeeded in raising to his knee, but which no other man, among

more than eighty thousand, could lift from off the ground. Newmore was considerably advanced in life at the time. He was a singularly daring, as well as an immensely powerful man, and had signalised himself in early life in the feuds of his native district. Some of his lands bordered on those of Black Andrew Munro, the last baron of Newtarbat, one of the most detestable wretches that ever abused the power of the pit and gallows. But, as at least their nominal politics were the same, and as the baron, though by far the less powerful man, was in, perhaps, a corresponding degree the more powerful proprietor, they had never come to an open rupture."

Newmore, on account of his venturing at times to screen some of the baron's vassals from his fury, by occasionally taking part against him in the quarrel of some of the petty landholders, whom the tyrant never missed an opportunity to oppress, was, by no means, one of his favourites. All the labour of the baron's demesnes was, of course, performed by his vassals as part of their proper service. A late wet harvest came on, and they were employed in cutting down his crops, when their own lay rotting on the ground. It is natural that in such circumstances they should have laboured unwillingly. All their dread of the baron, who remained among them in the fields, indulging in every caprice of fierce and cruel temper, aggravated by irresponsible power, proved scarcely sufficient to keep them at work; and to inspire them with greater terror, an elderly female, who had been engaged during the night in reaping a little field of her own, and had come somewhat late in the morning, was actually stripped naked by the savage, and sent home again. In the evening he was visited by Munro of Newmore, who came, accompanied by only a single servant, to expostulate with him on an act so atrocious and disgraceful. He was welcomed with a show of hospitality; the baron heard him patiently, and called for wine; they sat down and drank together. It was only a few weeks before, however, that one of the neighbouring lairds, who had been treated with a similar show of kindness by the baron, had been stripped half-naked at his table, when in a state of intoxication, and sent home with his legs tied under his horse's belly. Newmore, therefore, kept warily on his guard; he had left his horse ready saddled at the gate, and drank no more than he could

master, which was quite as much, however, as would have overcome most men. One after one of the baron's retainers began to drop into the room, each on a separate pretence, and as the fifth entered, Newmore, who had seemed as if yielding to the influence of the liquor, affected to fall asleep. The retainers came clustering round him. Two seized him by the arms, and two more essayed to fasten him to the chair; when up he sprang, dashed his four assailants from him, as if they had been boys of ten summers, and raising the fifth from the floor, hurled him headlong against the baron, who fell prostrate before the weight and momentum of so unusual a missile. In a minute after, Newmore had reached the gate, and, mounting his horse, rode away. The baron died during the night, a victim to apoplexy, induced, it is said, by the fierce and vindictive passions awakened on this occasion; and a Gaelic proverb, still current in Ross-shire, shows with what feelings his poor vassals must have regarded the event. Even to the present day, a Highlander will remark, when overborne by oppression, that "the same God still lives who killed Black Andrew Munro of Newtarbat."

The above events are said to have taken place in Black Andrew's Castle at Delny. He resided occasionally at his Castle of Contullich; and tradition states that the people of Boath, in passing up or down, had to perform the most abject obeisance to him, by taking off their hats and throwing themselves on the ground; and woe-betide the man (or woman) who forgot or refused to do so, for a shot from Andrew's big gun would bring him to his senses, or render him incapable of ever regaining that stage.

The following story in connection with Andrew's residence at Contullich I had some years ago from a *Seanachie*, who is now no more:—

The Rothach Dubh, he said, was an exceedingly fierce and cruel man, and ruled over his numerous estates with unlimited despotism, none daring to "make him afraid." For some reason or other he had conceived an inveterate hatred towards a number of his tenants or vassals in Garvary, and he resolved "to remove" them. The poor people having been informed of Andrew's feelings and intentions towards them, were accordingly on the watch for him. There were eight families in all in the

locality, and the system they adopted to defend themselves was this—The eight heads of the families watched together, one night in one house, next night in another, and so on. One exceptionally boisterous night of rain, sleet, and snow, they considered it unnecessary to be so watchful, erroneously believing that the Rothach Dubh would not trouble them on such a night. They were all, however, as usual, assembled in one house; but reckoned without their host. That same night Black Andrew ordered one of his servants to get two wisps of straw and make ready for a midnight ride to Garvary to attack and kill the people there. His servant remonstrated with him on the madness and recklessness of venturing out on such a stormy night, and on the atrocious character of the object of his journey; but his master was inexorable, and they set out on their diabolical mission. All the men, as already stated, were convened in one house. The Rothach Dubh, on arriving at the place, made for that house, being guided by the light shining through the window. Going up to this window, he listened to hear and determine who were inside. He overheard one of the men ask another in Gaelic "to look out and see what the night was doing." He did so, without noticing the Rothach Dubh, and on his return informed his friends that the night was most unusually fierce and boisterous, adding in Gaelic, "Weel, I know one thing, and that is, that Black Andrew Munro of Contullich wont attempt to come out on such a night, should he be the Devil himself." Black Andrew, who was still at the window, heard the man's observations, and gnashed his teeth. The unwary men on hearing what their friend said, and believing it, were completely thrown off their guard. When they had got all seated round the fire, the Rothach Dubh rushed in upon them with his drawn sword and killed them all, ere they had time to recover from their consternation, or to defend themselves. This story is firmly believed by the natives of the heights of Alness parish to this day.

Black Andrew married Eupheme, or Euphemia, daughter of James Dunbar, Laird of Tarbat, in Easter Ross, son of Sir James Dunbar of Westfield, in Moray.

On the 25th of January 1485, the Lords of Council ordained that James Dunbar of Tarbat should pay to Elizabeth, Countess

of Ross, the sum of 100 merks out of the mails (rents in money) of her lands in Tarbat and others, due at the term of Whitsunday last. They further ordained that the consideration of a claim made by the Countess against James Dunbar for 13 chalders of victuals and 100 merks received on her behalf from George, II. Earl of Huntly, should be deferred till the 24th of March, and that the Earl should be summoned to appear for his interest. The Lords of Council deferred till the same date an action raised by James Dunbar against the Countess for payment of £40 of fee, which he alleged remained due by her for five years, and for fulfilment of a condition under which he asserted he held her lands, that the dues should be diminished when the lands were waste.* On the 21st of January 1489, the Lords Auditors ordained that James Dunbar should pay to the Countess of Ross the sum of 736 merks Scots, due by him for the mails of the lands in Ross-shire which he held of her in lease, as proved by a bond under his seal and superscription; that his lease should be declared null and void, because he had failed to pay his dues at the terms contained in his bond, and that his lands and goods should be distrained for payment. James was summoned in the case, but failed to appear.† He seems, however, to have held the lands still, for on the 26th of February of the following year the Lords of Council ordained him to pay to the Countess 200 merks Scots as the dues of the said lands from Martinmas preceding, as shown by his bond.‡ On the 9th of December 1494, the Countess of Ross brought another action against James Dunbar for wrongfully withholding from her £42 "with the mare of the Witsonday terme" of her lands in Ross, and eighty head of oxen and cows, and for wrongfully occupying her lands of Dolgny (?Delny) and Easter Tarbat, with the rest of her lands in Ross-shire; in which case the Lords Auditors, in presence of the parties, judged that James Dunbar did wrong; that he should cease to occupy the lands; that he should deliver to the Countess the dues and cattle in question, in so far as she could prove her case before Sir William Munro, XII. Baron of Fowlis; that Sir

* Acta Dom. Conc., p. 100.

† Acta Auditorum, p. 122.

‡ Acta Dom. Conc., p. 126.

William should be empowered to hear the case, and, if it was proved, to distrain accordingly; and that the lands should forthwith be "red" to the Countess.*

By Miss Dunbar, Andrew Munro had issue, besides daughters, and an illegitimate son named Thoms, three sons—

1. George, his heir and successor.

2. William, I. of Allan, from whom David Munro, the present popular laird of Allan, is lineally descended.

3. Andrew, to whom his father bequeathed the estate of Culnald, or Culnaha, in the parish of Nigg. He was twice married. His first wife was Ellen, daughter of John Sutherland of Insh, by whom he had one son. (1) David, his successor. By his second wife, Anne, daughter of Hugh Ross of Achnacloich, in the parish of Rosskeen, he had two sons—(2) George of Knocksworth, who married, and had three sons and one daughter—George, Robert, Hugh, and Anne. He died on the 23rd of August 1640, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George, Commissary of Caithness, who married a daughter of Robert Sinclair of Gillhills, by whom he had two sons, George and Robert, of whom nothing is recorded. (3) Hugh, who apparently died unmarried.

Andrew of Culnald was succeeded by his eldest son, David, as second laird of Culnaha and Delny. He married his cousin, Janet, eldest daughter of Andrew Munro, V. of Milntown, by whom he had one son, Andrew.

David Munro second of Culnaha and Delny, died on the 12th of November 1596, and his relict married, as his second wife, Hector Munro, XVIII. Baron of Fowlis, without issue. He was succeeded as third of Culnaha and Delny by his only son, Andrew, who married a daughter of James Sinclair of Hemmington, by whom he had one son and two daughters—(1) John of Delny, his heir. (2) Janet, who married Duncan Grant of Lentrane. (3) A daughter, whose name is not recorded. Andrew was succeeded as fourth of Culnaha and Delny by his only son, John, who entered the army as a Major, and subsequently attained the rank of a Lieutenant-general. He was killed at the battle of Worcester in 1651, "dying unmarried, and without issue."

* Acta. Auditorum, pp. 192-3.

Andrew Beg Munro, III. of Milntown, died at Milntown Castle, "in great extravagance and profusion," before 1541, and was buried in the east end of the Church of Kilmuir-Easter, near the Meikle Allan Burying-Ground.* He was succeeded by his eldest son.

(To be continued.)

Gaelic Dictionaries.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—The next time that Reid's *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica* is printed, there are three Gaelic Dictionaries to be added to the list.

1. A Dictionary of the Ancient Language of Scotland, by Robert Allan, Surgeon, Edinburgh, 1804. Quarto. This is mentioned in a book I have before me, A Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors. London, 1816. Printed by Henry Colburn. Formerly in *Blackwood's Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Quarterly Review*, they used in the body of the work to give a list of new publications: in one of these I saw Allan's work mentioned. Part First had appeared: the price, I think, was four shillings (this gives some idea of the size of the part.) Perhaps the encouragement given was slight, and no more parts came out. I have not seen Allan's work.

2. Mackeachern's Pocket Gaelic Dictionary. Perth. About 1870 I saw this in a Glasgow catalogue of second-hand books. I have not seen it.

3. Mackintyre's Gaelic Dictionary. In his Gaelic Etymology this is mentioned by Dr Charles Mackay. I have not seen Mackintyre.

About 1870 it was said that there was to be published a second edition of Reid; to be edited by Mr Mackinnon, now Professor of Celtic in Edinburgh University. As Reid was published in 1832, many additions have to be made to his praiseworthy work. Some time ago I tried, without success, to find some particulars of the life of John Reid. Let me add here that I never heard of Robertson's Dictionary referred to in the November number of the *Celtic Magazine*.

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DEVONPORT, DEVON.

[In the article "Dictionary" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," new edition, the Gaelic Dictionary by Allan is enumerated. We have no knowledge of Mackintyre's Dictionary.—ED. C. M.]

* I am indebted to the Rev. Gustavus Aird, Creich, for the information anent Black Andrew's place of interment.

MAJOR JOHN MACDONALD.

SELECTIONS FROM HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

II.

ON the 16th of June 1743 was fought the battle of Dettingen, which George the 2nd gained over the French under the command of Marshall Noailles. No little surprise was expressed at the time, as well as by historians since, that the Earl of Stair should not have pursued the French to more advantage after the battle. Macdonald explains why this was not done. He says—

“ Before the action began, we were ordered to quit our knapsacks. Mine was large enough, but it never encumbered me afterwards ; though I, as well as a man of each sentry were sent in the evening to look after them. The loss of my own things I did not regret so much as the wife's; even the baby's clouts were gone. However, I got some beef and bread among the slain French, and a bundle of good straw, which saved her life that night ; for a deluge of rain fell, and the tents of our company did not arrive till next morning. That day we marched to Hanau, where General Clayton was buried. This great officer, with Captain Campbell, were both killed by a cannon ball, just when the latter was delivering the Earl of Stair's orders to pursue the flying enemy, who got off rather too well, before his lordship could know why his orders were not obeyed. Those who impute the escape of the French to any other cause, had better consider this as at least a more reasonable account ; nor can any other be presumable.”

The army lay at Hanau for six weeks, during which time Macdonald's first child was born, and, his wife not regaining her health for a time, he was obliged to try his hand at shopkeeping, on a small scale, in order to support her and the child—

“ The regiment was again quartered for the winter at Bruges, and I found that the care of the child would employ the mother, and that both must be supported by my industry. Therefore, joining with another married man, I took a house, where our wives sold ale, and my comrade and I took bread from a baker at a small discount, and sold it at the different barracks as well as at home. Thus, by dint of industry, the little family was decently supported, and a small matter saved for the evil day.”

In this manner Macdonald and his wife passed the winter in

comfort, but when spring came the regiment was again on the march, and the soldier's troubles began. We select the following amusing account of the trials of a married private on the march—

"In the spring of 1744, the army, under the command of Marshal Wade, marched for Lisle. My poor wife having the fever and ague most of that campaign, obliged me often to carry the baggage, child, and all. One day in particular, we having pitched near Tournay, and in the evening having struck the tents when she was in the hot fit, I packed all on my back, slung the firelock, took the child in my arms, and marched with the company on the great road to Lisle. A little after it turned dark there was an order from the front to keep profound silence in the ranks. Meantime, my child, I suppose, being hungry and dry, began to roar, and the more I hushed it, the worse it cried, knowing that I was not the mother. The Captain of the division, knowing my situation, ordered me to stop till the mother came up, which I did, until I was challenged by the Captain of the next division, to whom I said that Captain Roper had ordered me to wait until I could find the mother to silence the child. He then swore at me for a cowardly scoundrel that wanted to skulk behind for fear, in consequence of the late order from the front. I, in great anguish of mind, answered that, by God I would not go behind a tree if all the French Army were within pistol shot of me. He, understanding the allusion, made towards me in a great rage with his spontoon, swearing he would run it through me if I did not go quickly to my rank, and he was quickly obeyed. Meanwhile a narrow defile in the front made a halt, and before we moved on again, the mother came up, and calm succeeded. The next morning the army encamped in a spacious field before Lisle. The day after, a detachment going to a place called Lenoy, the French lay in ambush for them, and the first man killed was my friend, the Captain, who would run his spontoon into me. I own he died with my consent, though I utterly detest what might have been imputed had I been there."

While the army remained at Lisle, Macdonald again started a small beer-shop; but was not so fortunate as he had been at Bruges. By some means, not very clearly stated, their small store of money was either lost or stolen, and they were reduced to a few pence. How they bore this mishap, and how a comrade kindly helped them in their extremity, must be given in his own words—

"One day on my returning home I found two soldiers drink-

ing a mug of beer. When they had done, they gave my wife a small piece of silver to change. She, feeling her pocket, missed her purse; then, in a somewhat violent manner, asked me if I had it. I answered calmly in the negative. My manner of answering, as she thought, gave her reason to think that I had it, and she became very urgent to get it; but I finding the matter too serious, took the piece of silver from the men, went out, and got them their change, when they went away, when my wife pressing to get the purse from me, I asked her what she would do if she never saw it again. I was answered, '*go mad.*' I was now puzzled how to behave; but said if I had it, she need not be disturbed, and if it was never seen again, she must look on it as a trifling misfortune to such young people as us, who had already lived many happy days together on very little money, and might soon retrieve such a loss, and hoped she would not show a ridiculous weakness for what might be called nothing compared with many other disasters. Then having a little more command over herself, I soothed her a good deal; though the loss affected myself to a high degree, and staggered my prudent resolutions for some time. Our stock of money was now reduced to one half-penny, which I happened to have in my pocket, and the three-pence the soldiers had just paid for the beer. We had also the barrel near full of beer. But, as it often happens, one misfortune follows another. Late that evening our regiment got orders to march early next morning. Having but an indifferent night's rest, I was up early, and called on an acquaintance of the Welsh Fusiliers and told him to make his own use of the beer, as I had rather give it to a friend than leave it on the ground. He got up quickly, and instead of making a property of it, took it to the rear of our regiment then in ranks, and selling it a penny a quart cheaper than ordinary, before I moved off the ground, he brought me nine shillings and elevenpence which he had made of it. I can give no idea of my happiness in getting this timely relief, but will only say, that it enabled me to send my wife and child to Ghent, where they got a comfortable room. The weather turned out so bad, that had they been with me in camp, they must have suffered greatly, if not perished outright."

For the third time Macdonald's regiment was quartered at Bruges for the winter, and he resumed his shop-keeping. Besides selling beer and bread, he bought soldiers' old coats and other things, by which he could turn an honest penny. As there were several vacancies for non-commissioned officers at this time, Macdonald hoped to be promoted; but was again disappointed by General Skelton issuing a public order to the effect that neither Scotch nor Irish should be promoted to these vacancies

as long as there was an Englishman in the Company who was fit for the duty. In April 1745 the army left Bruges to march, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, to the relief of Tournay, then besieged by the French. Before leaving the town, Macdonald hired a room of his brewer, in which he stored his stock-in-trade of second-hand clothing, as well as his wife's best things. For the account of the subsequent battle, where he was severely wounded, we shall again give his own graphic description—

“On the morning of the 1st of May 1745 we attacked the enemy in their works. Our regiment was broken and made up thrice. On going the first time, my right hand man, not liking the work, fell behind me, and sometimes hung on my haversack, where I had a little bread. I told him often to keep his rank or I would knock him down. This I did at last, and I saw no more of him during the action. There were fourteen in the front rank of platoons, going to the field, but on coming out, only another and myself; and I had three wounds. Yet, notwithstanding this, when the Earl of Crawford called a platoon of volunteers from the 32nd regiment to cover his troop of Life Guards, I was one of nineteen rank and file that turned out with Lieutenant Clark. His lordship having the honour of being last on the field, soon after sent an order to Lieutenant Clark to take his platoon off. While waiting for orders to rejoin our regiment, we, all being tired, sat down, and for the first time I began to examine my wounds, particularly one in my right thigh, where a ball had lodged, which troubled me very much. The Lieutenant, looking at me with surprise, asked how I could turn out a volunteer in such a condition, or even keep the field so long? I answered that I had no broken bones. When we received orders to join our corps I was so stiff that I had to hang on to a comrade until we came to the ground of our last encampment. Here orders were given to march directly, and the wounded were to be sent to the Duke's quarters; that being made a temporary hospital. My good friend, the Major, ordered me there, but I answered that I would rather go with my company. He said he knew my spirit was good, but that instead of being able to keep up with the rest I should be obliged to lie on the road, and, perhaps, before morning be cut to pieces by the French Hussars. Still I insisted on going with the company; then, in the old style, cursing my Highland blood, he ordered me to my rank. There I found the man I knocked down in the morning, and on my making objection to his being so near me, the Major, swearing vengeance against him as a cowardly scoundrel, took him to the colours to be under his

own eye in case of an engagement ; and that was the last I saw of Luke Beady, who deserted to the French the next morning. At dusk the army moved not only slow, but halting often, and as often I sat or lay down. At last I stopped altogether under a tree, and, overcome by fatigue, slept, though often disturbed by my wife, who, remembering what the Major had said about the French Hussars, wished me to move on. But all to no purpose, I neither could nor would stir until fair daylight, when the tracks of the army were easily seen, but nothing else. So I followed, hirpling on the road, till, the call of hunger being imperative, I detached the wife to a village at a little distance to get something to eat. A little while after, two men of the 42nd, who were left behind to bury a sergeant, came up, and they, knowing me, expressed their concern for my condition. I asked them if they could give me anything to eat. They answered no, but that they would try the neighbouring houses. They soon brought some eggs, milk, and beer. There I sat in the middle of the road until my wife arrived with bread, and then who dined better than my little family and I? Indeed, the child made such signs of joy at the sight of the eggs and milk as would divert me, had I lost a limb. After a while I again jogged on, and came up to the regiment, just as the Major was collecting the return of killed and wounded. How soon he saw me he mended his pace to meet me, and, in the most familiar manner, enquired how I did, adding that my folly proved lucky, as the Hospital was taken by the French and all stripped, but for all that I should have obeyed his orders, not only as his being my superior as an officer, but in experience ; and that I should distinguish myself by bravery, but never by madness, which he must call my following the army in my present condition. He then called the Surgeon to dress my wounds and extract the ball, which made me so uneasy. When it was taken out it seemed as if it had been too large for the piece from which it had been fired ; therefore it was beat to eight square, which made it very ragged, and as long as the first two joints of my little finger. Being now well attended, I was soon cured, although a wound on my right shoulder made that arm weaker ever since."

Though Macdonald appears to have been a very steady man, and a good soldier, there always seemed to be some obstacle to his obtaining the promotion which he undoubtedly deserved. He made sure of gaining a step after being wounded, but was again disappointed ; for his friend, the Major, having quarrelled with his Colonel, sold out, and retired from the service. He explains how he was passed over thus—

"Next morning I was ordered to the Grenadiers, having

now no Major to keep me out of them, nor was there an officer in that company that had the least knowledge of me. Meanwhile, Colonel Skelton got the 12th Regiment, and Colonel Wm. Douglas, the 32nd. A few days after, when I was away for forage, Colonel Douglas filled up all the vacancies for sergeants and corporals, without the least knowledge that such a man as me existed. A little time after, the enemy took Bruges, with my poor store, and many more valuables. Thus my poor family was a third time stripped of their little all. In the latter end of this season, the Rebellion being hot in Scotland, the foot regiments were all ordered home. Our regiment landed at Gravesend, marched for Dover, and soon marched back to Deptford, where we received orders to march North. Meantime, Macdowall of Garthland, Captain of Grenadiers, sent for me, and asked me, rather as a favour to take notice of his own and the company baggage on this march, as he was afraid that some of it might get lost through the neglect and drunkenness of the men in charge. I readily agreed, and this route was continued to Stafford, where we halted on St Andrew's Day."

Captain Macdowall was so well pleased with our hero, that thinking to do him a kindness, he offered him the place of batman, that is, to take care of and groom his riding horses, for which he would get extra pay, and be exempted from his ordinary duty. But the Highland blood of Macdonald could not bear the idea. He could be a soldier, but not a groom, so with many excuses he declined the offer. News arriving of the retreat of Prince Charles from Derby, Macdonald's regiment received orders to march to Croydon, he seeing after the baggage all the time. On giving up his charge to Captain Macdowall, the following conversation took place—

"I waited on my Captain with an inventory of the charge, and the key of the store-room, telling him all was safe, and that I thought nothing now hindered my returning to my ordinary duty. He asked me if keeping the key, and looking at the things now and then would interfere with my duty. I answered, not at all. He then told me Corporal Hart had deserted to the French, and asked if I would do that duty. I answered I would, if he thought proper. The Lieutenant-Colonel being present, said, 'Ay, Macdonald, you'll do Corporal's duty, though you did not choose to be batman.' This made me ask my Captain's pardon, I imagining him angry at me for refusing that office; but the Colonel observed there was no occasion for apology as the Captain was rather well pleased than otherwise to find such a spirit under such difficulties. Then commencing Lance-Corporal

on the 2nd January 1746. Some time in February there was a Corporal's rank vacant, but a dispute arising between the Major and Grenadier Captain, both candidates were disappointed; I mean myself and another man, who was the Major's favourite. In July following the regiment went abroad again, and soon after I was really made Corporal, and Captain Macdowall's attachment to me increased daily. This year we fought the battle of Prague. The troops were ordered under arms an hour before daybreak. After this our regiment got Bromell for winter quarters, and my Captain going on recruiting service took me with him. When we arrived at Edinburgh there were orders from the War Office to enlist neither Scots nor Irish."

Mrs Macdonald being in delicate health, and tired of following the army, it was decided that she should go and live in Sutherlandshire, where their second child—a boy—was born. Mrs Macdonald, by her own industry, was able to support herself and children for over five years, during which time this attached couple never had an opportunity of meeting, which was a great trial to them both. Their boy died at the age of five years without his father ever having seen him. We will detail his further adventures in his own words.—

"I was ordered to Lieutenant George Farquhar at Leeds, who seemed very well pleased with my first trial on that duty. In April 1747 we joined the regiment at Bromell with the recruits, and soon after marched to camp, and fought the battle of Val, where a small ball broke the butt end of my firelock, when I had it at recover, ready to present. Had I had it in any other position, that ball must have gone through me. The latter end of this year our regiment was ordered home, and at first to winter at Kent, but after being as far as Gravesend, was ordered for Newcastle-on-Tyne. On this voyage I had several fevers, and nothing to drink but bad water, nor to eat but rusk (a sort of bread used by the Dutch Navy. It's something like sawdust, baked to look like biscuit.) The sergeants being allowed English biscuit, one of my comrades pleaded hard to get some for me to boil in water, but to no purpose. By-the-bye, the principal or Pay-Sergeant was a Mackenzie from Lochbroom, a man very capable of that office, had he kept his inferiors at proper distance; but I observing to him often the evil consequences of such freedom, became a troublesome monitor, and, as is often the case, became the object of his ill-will, as appears by his cruelty in refusing me the biscuit. When we came to Newcastle, I was ordered to the Hospital, and, a little time afterwards, despaired of by the doctors; but by the will of Providence I recovered;

but in a great measure lost the use of my right arm, which was imputed to a wound I had in that shoulder at Fontenoy, and lying on that side on shipboard when the fever was so violent. Being thus rendered useless for service, my discharge was made out. When my Captain came from Scotland, and enquiring the state of his Corporal from the surgeon, and being told I was to be discharged, he went immediately to the Colonel, and desired leave to keep me for a season, even if it were at his own expense, to see if my arm would recover, and I mended so slow that I could not expect to be continued in the service, when a reduction of so many out of every regiment in the whole army was unavoidable." On the 1st of April 1748, the regiment embarked at Shields for the Netherlands, and settling a little at Ostend, we were clothed, at the delivery of which the Captain ordered me to assist the sergeants, so that nothing would be lost; but in this my services were considered by them as officiousness, and Mackenzie asked me what business I had there, and his comrade and great crony, one Sergeant Clark, ordered me to get out, with which I complied, and, with tears in my eyes, observed to these gentry, that impunity for such rude address was, to their own knowledge, owing entirely to my misfortune. During this campaign peace was concluded; thus kind Providence made this worthy man the instrument to prevent my falling on the smallest allowance under the Crown, and we were ordered home. Meantime the regiment landed at Harwich, and, I being an invalid, was ordered with sick and baggage by water to London, and from thence to Reading in Berkshire, which took so much time that before my arrival, my Captain was gone for Scotland, before I joined, and my friend, Dr Mackenzie told me, the last orders he had from Captain Macdowall was that I should urge nothing respecting a discharge until his return. The regiment being ordered for Gibraltar, he joined in May 1749, and questioning me whether I would follow the company, or choose my discharge, and I declaring for the latter, he took pains to convince me of the difficulty of my getting a pension, notwithstanding of my just pretensions, there being already such multitudes on that list, that a man of my fresh appearance, and with whole limbs had but a bad chance; at the same time, giving me rather to understand that it would be agreeable to him to have me Sergeant in his company, which duty I might accomplish, notwithstanding my present infirmity. I then gratefully acknowledged his goodness all along, submitting for the future to whatever he thought proper, and, accordingly, went to Gibraltar, where my arm recovered amazingly, though never thoroughly. Soon after our settling in that Fortress a deficiency in paying the company coming above board, Mackenzie was broke, and I got his halbert,

I should have observed that Clark had suffered the same fate in 1748 at Ness-le-roy Camp. It may seem now in my power to return favours in kind ; but so far from that, I assure, on my honour, that I studied to make these two men happy in their reduced condition. Nor did I ever think of the injuries they had done me but with the utmost disdain of revenge. The Captain called a still more capable Sergeant to pay his company, but that man, in a fortnight, forfeited his trust, and I was called to receive the company's money, and, can it be believed, refused it, forsooth, because my benefactor, contrary to his former custom, would not give me a stated weekly allowance. He then told me that he would find a man to pay his company ; and, like an ungrateful wretch, I left my friend and his money."

Soon after this an officer of the regiment, Lieutenant Barrow, being ordered home on recruiting service, sent for Macdonald and offered to take him with him. Macdonald did not care about going, and made several excuses, which the officer admitted to be reasonable, at the same time hinting to him, that as he had lately disobliged his Captain by refusing to be Pay-Sergeant without extra allowance, he thought it advisable for him to keep out of his way for a while. Macdonald at once saw the wisdom of this, and thanking the Lieutenant for the hint, cheerfully agreed to go. He got on very well with Lieutenant Barrow, and when the latter sold his commission to a Lieutenant Hilmar, Macdonald became a favourite with him also. In April 1751, this officer returned to Gibraltar with the recruits, and left Sergeant Macdonald behind in London to continue recruiting, in which he was so successful as to enlist 26 men in three months, with whom he returned to Gibraltar. He was anxious to know with what feelings Captain Macdowall now regarded him ; but his anxiety was soon at rest. He thus describes their meeting—

"To my unspeakable comfort he declared his good pleasure at seeing me so hearty, and in the greatest good humour said, that I must pay his company, and he would give as high a weekly allowance as any Pay-Sergeant in the garrison had. I begged him for God's sake to say nothing of allowances, but command me to do what he thought proper, as I had none but repentant days and nights since I committed that ungrateful blunder. But for the future I was fully resolved to act so as to make him forget my folly. I immediately got the company's books, and proved so much to his satisfaction that he laid himself out to do better for me. In June 1753, we were relieved,

landed at Portsmouth, and marched for Perth. Here I met with my wife, in the deepest concern for her fine boy ; nor was my own less, though I affected cheerfulness on her account. In 1754, the Captain, with the Grenadiers, and a detachment from the regiment, was ordered to Braemar Castle. From thence I was always sent to Perth for officers' and men's subsistence, sometimes to the amount of £500. The officers observing to him that his trust was too much for me in my rank, his answer was, That it was all his while in my custody, and that he should be allowed to judge who to trust with his money; nor was he apprehensive, let the sum be never so great."

(To be continued.)

SUTHERLAND FIGHTS.

II.

III. FISCARY (1196.)

ALTHOUGH historians have failed to give us any definite information regarding this fight, yet with the aid of topography and tradition we may be enabled to throw some little light upon it.

On the coast of Sutherland the Norsemen and the Celts for many years waged continuous war. In almost every instance the Sagas claim the victory for the Norsemen; but in this particular battle we have conclusive evidence of their defeat. If battlefields have Norse names, we may infer a Norse victory, but if Celtic, we may infer a Norse defeat; for it is evident that the victors would have the privilege of settling upon and naming the ground.

At the head of far-famed Strathnaver stands Ben-Harold. From its base rises Ault-Harold (Harold's Burn), which has given its name to and flows past Altnaharra, the cherished resort of keen Waltonians, and one of the most beautiful of the many beautiful spots in Sutherlandshire. Further down the Strath is Dalharold (Harold's Dale). Here tradition has it that a great fight was fought, and in the many grave mounds or tumuli with which the Strath, from Ben-Harold downwards, is

dotted, we have our tradition sufficiently confirmed. Had the victory been Norse, according to our rule, the *dal* would have been suffixed, and the name would have appeared as Harold's-*dal*. The grave mounds indicate the retreat of the Norsemen, and guided thereby we find the scene of battle shifted to Fiscary, a place about two miles distant from the foot of the Strath, and on the way to Castle Borge, which was probably one of the Norse strongholds. At this point the Norsemen made their last stand, and they must have fought hard; for the very numerous mounds and the massive cairns are evidence of tremendous slaughter, and one might almost say, of the utter extinction of the invading army.

On turning to history we have on record that when William the Lion reigned over Celtic Scotland the turbulent Norsemen gave him considerable annoyance. The Lion King having gathered his clans together, sent a strong force against Harold Earl of Caithness, and Torphin, his son. It is not stated where the combatants met, but from the names and circumstances mentioned above we are led to believe Strathnaver to be the locale of the battle. The Norsemen suffered a severe defeat. Harold was captured, and Torphin, his son, had to be delivered up as an hostage. William afterwards gave up to Harold the northern part of Caithness, but the southern portion, now the county of Sutherland, he gave to Hugh Freskyn, the progenitor of the Earls of Sutherland.

It is popularly believed that a stone in the church-yard of Farr, one of the finest of antique monuments in the North, with curious sculpturing, and rather difficult to decipher, was erected in memory of some chiefs slain in this battle.

IV. LEATHAD RIABHACH.

(1601).

THE Earl of Caithness had long threatened to invade the wilder regions of Sutherland, and had boastfully intimated his intention to hunt in the moors of Durness—that “delectable hunting ground.” Taking advantage of the Earl of Sutherland’s absence on the Continent, he made preparations to carry out his threat. The chieftains having received information of the intended inroad, determined on resistance, and by the timely return of their chief

—the Earl—from the Continent, they were enabled to collect a sufficient number of clansmen to repel the invader. Of the clans there gathered—the Mackays from Strathnaver, the Macleods from Assynt, the Munros, and the Sutherlands.

The Earl of Caithness advanced into Sutherland, as far as Leathad Riabhach in the Ben Griam, where the Earl of Sutherland met him with his forces. "The two hosts were encamped within thrie mylls one of another besyd the hill of Bengrime, readie to encounter the nixt morning; which no sooner appeared than the Sutherland men prepared themselves for battel."

The Earl of Caithness having now ascertained the strength of the opposing army, began to doubt his prospect of success, and his courage rapidly disappeared. "Finding that his hazard was greater than his hope, and that his assured losses by overthrow would farr surmount his doubtfull victorie, he preferred the care to preserve himself and his, before the desire to encounter, and so had very tymely that morning, withal expedition, retired himself homeward." When the attack seemed imminent, the Caithness men fled in disorder; "leaving ther stuff and cariage, they went away by break of day in a fearfull confusion, fleying and hurling together in such headlong hast, that everie one increased the fear of his fellow companion."

A cairn (Carn-teichidh), which is still visible, was erected by the Sutherland men in memory of the flight.

"Being saffie arrived within his own bounds" the Earl of Caithness offered to permit the Earl of Sutherland to advance equally far without resistance into Caithness. As no advantage could be derived from the proposal, his offer was not accepted. After gentlemen from each side saw the armies dissolved, the Caithness men, as the somewhat clannish historian records with evident relish, "retired to their homes, right glaid in their hearts to have escaped beyond their expectation."

D. MACLEOD, M.A.

BOOKS ON CELTIC LITERATURE, HISTORY, AND OTHER HIGHLAND SUBJECTS.—The attention of the reader is respectfully directed to a list of books—many of them curious and rare—on the History, Literature, Traditions, and other Highland subjects, given at the end of this number.

OLD INVERNESS.

I.

THOUGH two or three books have been written by competent authors upon the earlier history of the Burgh of Inverness, these works are now mostly out of print, and not accessible to the general public, and it is believed that a few of the leading facts and traditions connected with the Highland Capital will prove interesting to Highlanders at home and abroad.

Inverness, the Capital of the Highlands, was even in ancient times a place of some importance. Of its origin nothing authentic is known, and like most other places in the same position, very fanciful conjectures have been made by antiquarians regarding its early history. Some even go so far as to state that it was in existence before the birth of Christ, an assertion which was probably founded upon the statement in Burns' Chronology that "Evenus was a good king; he made Inverness and Inverlochy market towns sixty years before Christ." Boethius and Buchanan concur in this view, but the evidence is too slender to obtain general credence. There is no doubt, however, that Inverness is a very ancient town, and that it existed in the Druidical and hill-fort period, the remains at Clava, Craig-Phadraig, and other places in the neighbourhood apparently pointing to that conclusion. The camp at Bona is said to have been formed by the Romans in the year 140 A.D., about the time of the building of Antonine's Wall, at which period the town is stated to have been in the hands of the invaders. Towards the end of the 6th century, Inverness was the capital of the Pictish kingdom, and in 565 St Columba and some of his followers visited it, and were successful in converting to Christianity, Brude II., king of the Picts, who then had his headquarters in the town. We are told, on the authority of *Historians of Scotland*, that "Brude in his pride had shut the gates against the holy man, but the saint, by the sign of the cross and knocking at it, caused it to fly open of its own accord. Columba and his companions then entered; the king with those around him advanced and met them, and received the saint with due respect, and ever after King Brude honoured

him." The saint is said to have performed several wonderful miracles in Inverness, in the way of casting out evil spirits, defeating the king's seers and wise men, and other Christian deeds of the kind.

In 843 the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms were united under the rule of Kenneth Macalpin, and Inverness then lost the distinction of being a capital. For the next two centuries little is known about its history, until, in 1039, it is supposed to have been the scene of King Duncan's murder by Macbeth. It contests this distinction, however, with the town of Elgin, and there is little likelihood of the much-vexed point being ever definitely settled. Macbeth's castle is supposed, by those who hold to the Inverness theory, to have stood upon the Crown, and a circular plot of ground, railed in and planted with trees, behind Victoria Terrace, is pointed out as its site. However this may be, Bellenden, the translator of Boethius, writes as follows:—
 "Makbeth, be persuasion of his wife, gaderit his freindis, to ane counsall at Innernes, quhare King Duncane happinit to be for the time. And because he fand sufficient oportunitie, be support of Banquho and otheris his freindis, he slew King Duncane, the VII yeir of his regne." Shakespeare, in his great tragedy of Macbeth, follows this version. In 1056 Malcolm Canmore, in revenge of his father's murder, utterly destroyed the building in which it is said to have occurred, and raised another castle of his own, overlooking the river, on the west end of the present Castle Hill. After this date, the town gradually clustered round the new castle, seeking that protection which the ruins of Macbeth's stronghold no longer afforded. In the 12th century, during the reign of David I., Inverness was raised to the dignity of a Royal Burgh, and became the headquarters of the High Sheriff, whose jurisdiction included all the country north of the Grampians. About this time, a legislative document describes the town as "*Loca capitalia per totum regnum*," one of the capital places of the whole kingdom. In 1161 Shaw, second son of Duncan, fifth Earl of Fife, for his assistance to Malcolm IV. in quelling a revolt in Moray, was made hereditary governor of the Castle of Inverness, with the name of "Mac-an-Toiseach," meaning "Son of the Thane." In 1196 the town was visited by William the Lion, who granted four different charters to it during

his reign. These documents ratified that of David I., with the addition of several new privileges, and the latest of them ordained "a weekly market to be held in the burgh in all time coming." The charter provided this market to be held on "the Sabbath Day in every week." Two more charters were granted by Alexander II. in 1217 and 1237, one of which made over the lands of Merkinch to the town. In 1233 the same monarch endowed a monastery of Greyfriars in the town. The lands of the monks, at the Reformation, were turned into the minister's glebe, and the site of the church into a grave-yard. The sole remnant of the monastery now remaining upon the spot is a fragment of a pillar still standing in the midst of the graves. In 1229 the town was burnt, and the neighbouring Crown lands ravaged by a freebooter named Gillespick MacScourlane, who afterwards paid the penalty of his evil deeds with his life and those of his two sons.

In the 15th century Inverness became the seat of a most important industry, that of shipbuilding. It is stated in Tytler's *History of Scotland* that, in 1249, a powerful French baron, Hugh de Chastillon, Earl of St Paul, when about to accompany Louis the IX. to the Crusades, caused a ship to be built at Inverness for his use. Apparently, even then, the fame of the town as a shipbuilding centre had extended to the Continent. In 1280 a ship was built at Inverness for a French Count who had been shipwrecked in the Orkneys. During the minority of one of the Mackintosh's successors, the Cummings of Badenoch appropriated the office of keeper of Inverness Castle, and succeeded in retaining it until 1303, when it was taken by Edward I. of England. At that time Bruce was in the Hebrides, but on hearing of the fall of his stronghold, he gathered his men, and in a short time retook the fortress. In 1325 that monarch "directed a precept to the Sheriff of Inverness to do full and speedy justice at the suit of the burgesses of Inverness against all invading their privileges, by buying or selling in prejudice of them, and of the liberties of the burgh." The Sheriffdom of Inverness was from time to time curtailed, however, until its jurisdiction became limited almost entirely to its own shire; but that did not happen until a much later period. In 1369, David II. granted a charter which gave the town a right to the

lands of Drakies, and to the burgh tolls and petty customs. A considerable portion of the inhabitants then consisted of Flemish merchants, who had settled in the town, and exported large quantities of skins, furs, salmon, herring, and malt, in exchange for wine and other commodities.

Some idea of the unsatisfactory state of society at this time may be gleaned from the fact that from 1306 to the Union, the town was almost constantly at war with the neighbouring clans—indeed, it was destroyed by fire no fewer than three different times. In 1400, Donald, Lord of the Isles, surrounded Inverness with a large body of men, and threatened to burn the town unless he was instantly paid a heavy ransom. The Provost, a Mr Junor, affected to agree to Donald's terms, and, as a part of the ransom, sent him a large quantity of spirits. The army were very soon tipsy to a man, and then the Provost, sallying forth at the head of the citizens, boldly attacked the enemy, and utterly routed them at North Kessock. Donald himself managed to escape, and took ample vengeance upon the town ten years afterwards, when he almost annihilated it by fire. After this event, James I. gave orders for strengthening the Castle, with the view of preventing such a catastrophe again, and at the same time the Chief of Clan Chattan was reinstated as governor.

So unsettled was the country, that in 1427 King James and his Parliament made a journey to the North, and held a great Justice-aire in the Castle of Inverness, for the trial of all the chiefs and others who had been engaged in the many robberies and murders which disgraced the period. The result was that several of the most desperate characters paid the penalty of their evil deeds with their lives, and Alexander, third Lord of the Isles, was imprisoned for a year. The latter, soon after being liberated, levied 10,000 men, and, following in his predecessor's footsteps, burnt Inverness a second time, and besieged the Castle, which withstood all his attempts. He was soon afterwards taken prisoner by the Royal Army, and imprisoned in Tantallon Castle. His son, John, succeeded in taking the Castle of Inverness by stratagem in 1455, and again the unfortunate capital suffered the extremities of fire and sword. In 1464 it was honoured by a visit from James III., who stayed in the Castle

for a while, and granted a new Charter of Confirmation. In 1499 James IV. stayed a short time in the town, and attended service in a little chapel which stood on the Green of Muirtown, and which was ever afterwards known as the King's Chapel. The site of the chapel, and a small grave-yard attached, is now entirely built over. In 1509 the Earl of Huntly was appointed Hereditary Sheriff of the County of Inverness, and keeper of the Castle. We are told in Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, that "power was given him to add to the fortifications; and he was at the same time bound, at his own expense, to build upon the Castle Hill of Inverness, a hall of stone and lime upon vaults. This hall was to be 100 feet in length, 30 feet in breadth, and the same in height; it was to have a slated roof, and to it were to be attached a kitchen and chapel of proper size." The Regent Moray usurped these offices for a short time, but the rightful holder soon regained them. In 1629, however, Huntly resigned the posts for a *solatium* of £2500. Sir Robert Gordon was then granted the appointment for life. In 1522, as appears from a document of that date quoted in *Invernessiana*, the town of Inverness possessed a Cucking-stool, which was a chair in which scolds and suspected witches were bound, and then ducked in the river.

In 1538 the first Protestant minister of Inverness was appointed. In the course of another century, the population had increased to such an extent that two ministers were required, and, in 1706, a third was found necessary. In 1555, Mary of Guise "held several courts in the Castle, for the trial and punishment of caterans and political offenders," and the Earl of Caithness was imprisoned in the Castle dungeon. The beautiful and unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, visited the town in 1562, and, although refused admittance to the Castle, she gathered her forces, took the fortress, and hanged Alexander Gordon, the deputy-governor. The house where Queen Mary resided, at the foot of Bridge Street, is well known, and there has long been a tradition that there exists a subterranean passage between that house and the site of the Old Castle. In 1574, Hugh, Lord Lovat, was Sheriff Principal of Inverness, and constable of the Castle. In Anderson's *History of the Frasers* it is stated that his lordship was a great promoter of manly sports, and an expert bowman. It was a

general custom in those days for all the nobility to meet at stated periods, for the purpose of tilting, fencing, riding the great horse, and the like exercises. At one of these rencounters in the Chapel-yard of Inverness, Lord Lovat dismounted the Laird of Grant and the Sheriff of Moray. This, with some taunt which followed, so irritated these gentlemen as to occasion sharp words, when Lovat said, that as he had given them a specimen of his tilting, he would now try the mettle of their riding. Dashing the rowels into his steed, he rode through the river, and made straight for the hill of Clachnaharry, bidding them keep a pace; here he leaped his horse over the ledge of the rock, and dared his pursuers to follow. But they, terrified with the appearance of the place, judged it wisest to desist. The impression, says our author, made by his horse's shoes below, was visible for upwards of sixty years after, as it was kept clean by a man who had an annual pension for preserving it.

In 1589 the first Town Law-Agent was appointed by the Magistrates of Inverness. In that year, Master Oliver Coult was elected to the office, with an annual salary of six pounds Scots. James VI. granted two charters to the town, the later of which, in 1591, is known as the Great or Golden Charter, confirming all the former charters, with the addition of many new privileges. From 1591 to 1688 Inverness seems to have been in a prosperous state, exporting great quantities of meal and malt, and also supplying the whole of the North. In 1640 a Morayshire woman started a school in the town, which appears to have offended the Magistrates so much, as being in opposition to the parish schoolmaster, that they passed a resolution that "Margaret Cowie should not be allowed to teach *beyond the Proverbs!*" In 1644 the Castle was repaired and garrisoned by the Covenanters, under Sir James Fraser of Brea, who surrounded the town with a ditch, cut down a number of beautiful trees in the Grey Friars' and Chapel Yards, and erected a strong gate at the top of Castle Street. In the following year it was besieged by Montrose, but without success. Five years later it was taken by Mackenzie of Pluscardine and Urquhart of Cromarty, who destroyed a great part of it, which was not again restored until 1718. In 1652 Inverness was occupied by Cromwell, on behalf of the Commonwealth, and in the following year he commenced the

erection of a fort at the mouth of the Ness, which occupied five years in building. The following description of this fortress is taken from Anderson's *History of the Frasers* :—

It was a regular pentagon, surrounded at full tide with water sufficient to float a small bark. The breastwork was three stories high, all of hewn stone, and lined with brick inside. The sallee port lay towards the town. The principal gate was to the North, where was a strong draw-bridge of oak, and a stately structure over it, with this motto, "*Togam tuentur arma.*" From this bridge the Citadel was approached by a wide vault 70 feet long, with seats on each side. In the centre of the fort, stood a large square building, three stories high. The lower storey contained the granary and magazine. In the highest, was a church, well finished, within a pavilion roof, surmounted by a steeple with a clock and four bells; at the south east, stood a long building, four stories high, called the English building, because built by English masons, and opposite to it a similar one, erected by Scottish architects. On the north-east and north-west were the ammunition houses, artificers' lodgings, stables, brew-houses, and a tavern. A conduit under ground, with iron gates at each end, extended from one side to the other, and carried off the filth of the Citadel. The accommodation altogether would lodge 1000 men. England supplied the oak planks and beams; the fir was bought from Fraser of Struie, who received 30,000 merks as purchase money. Recourse had been had to the monasteries of Kinloss and Beaully, the Bishop's Castle of Chanorly, the Greyfriars' Church and St Mary's Chapel at Inverness, for the stone work, and in addition thereto, materials were taken from the Redcastle quarries. Such a variety of stores did the garrison bring with them, and so profuse were they, that a Scots pint of claret sold for a shilling, and cloth was bought as cheap as in England. The whole expense of the Citadel was £80,000 sterling.

In 1662, by request of the Highland chiefs, this great fortress was demolished, but the brief stay of the English soldiery had a permanent effect upon the language and customs of the inhabitants of Inverness. The curious little clock-tower, with its clock, still standing at the Citadel, is said to have been erected in Cromwell's time.

In the *History of the Macdonalds*, there is an account of a serious conflict which took place in Inverness in 1665 between the townspeople, the Macdonalds of Glengarry, and the Town Guards, the result of which was that the two first parties went to law, and, in the end, the town was ordered by the Privy Council to pay Glengarry £4800 Scots damages, besides medical fees. The quarrel commenced at the horse market, which was held on the hill south of the Castle. Some women were selling cheese at the top of the hill, and a townsman, named Finlay Dubh, lifted a cheese in his hand, and inquired the price. On being told, he accidentally or wilfully let the cheese roll down the hill into the

river. The owner of the kebbock insisted on payment; Finlay gave her an insolent reply. Somebody at hand sided with the woman, and, seizing the offender, pulled off his bonnet in pledge for the price of the cheese. A kinsman of Finlay's challenged this man, and from words they soon came to blows. The whole market took up the quarrel, and the fight became general. The Guards were called out, swords drawn, and guns fired. Provost Cuthbert donned a steel head-piece, and with sword and buckler went into the fight. The alarm bell was rung; two men were killed and several wounded by the shots fired by the Guards. At length quiet was restored; the Provost defended the action of the Guards in firing. The two dead men were found to be Macdonalds. That clan considered themselves insulted, and vowed revenge. At length they agreed to make peace on certain stipulated conditions, but these were so humiliating that the town refused to treat on such terms, and the matter was at last submitted to the Privy Council, with the before-mentioned result.

In 1662 the Magistrates held a great horse-race on the plain round Tomnahurich. The prizes were a silver cup and a saddle. Hugh, 10th Lord Lovat, the Lairds of Grant and Kilravock, and an officer from Fort-William, contested the first race, Lovat coming in first. The next race was won by a Bailie of the town. On 28th September 1664, the old wooden bridge gave way, the event being thus described by a contemporary writer:—"The great old wooden bridge of Inverness was repairing, and by the inadvertency of a carpenter cutting a beam that lay betwixt two couples, the bridge tending that way, ten of the old couples fell flat on the river, with about two hundred persons—men, women, and children—on it. Four of the townsmen broke legs and thighs; some sixteen had their heads, arms, and thighs bruised; all the children safe without a scart—a signal providence and a dreadful sight at 10 forenoon." In 1685, according to Mr Maclean, the Inverness "Nonogenarian," a substantial stone bridge, of seven arches, was erected, partly at the expense of the town, and partly by means of subscriptions. Macleod of Macleod, Lord Lovat, and other lairds contributed handsomely, and on that account their clans were afterwards allowed to pass over the bridge without paying toll. Some years after, however, Lord Lovat gave up his privilege to the town for a consideration, and the Frasers had afterwards

to pay. Macleod of Macleod's coat-of-arms was placed over the gateway of the bridge in special acknowledgment of his subscription towards its erection.

Some of the inhabitants of the town hit upon a novel expedient for getting relieved of the toll. On Sunday, as the people were coming from church, they and their minister were shocked to see a number of people playing shinty on the Green of Muirtown. On being remonstrated with, the Sabbath-breakers alleged that they could not pay the toll for crossing the bridge, and were therefore unable to go to church, and that they had nothing else to do but to amuse themselves. The worthy minister applied to the Magistrates, with the result, that no toll was thereafter exacted on Sundays. Between the second and third arches of the bridge was a miserable dungeon, about twelve feet square, in which prisoners were confined. It was entered by a flight of stairs, leading from a trap-door in the roadway, to a door of massive iron bars. The only other opening was a grated window looking towards the west. In this dismal hole, a poor unfortunate man was imprisoned about 1715, who, it is said, was finally devoured by rats, but this is questionable. The wretched man used in winter to cry out, "Casan fuara, casan fuara," cold feet, cold feet. For many years a toll of a bodle, or the sixth part of a penny, for each foot passenger with goods, a penny for a loaded horse, etc., was levied on the bridge on those who had not the privileges of the burgh. Many of those who came to the markets were unable to pay this toll, and in summer and autumn it was a common sight to see bands of men and women sitting on the west bank of the river, just opposite where the West Church is now, waiting until the state of the tide enabled them to ford the stream.

H. R. M.

(To be continued.)

THE GLASGOW SKYE ASSOCIATION.—The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Natives of the Isle of Skye, and their friends, residing in Glasgow, was held there in the Queen's Rooms, on Friday, the 5th of December—Reginald Macleod, second son of Macleod of Macleod, in the chair. Addresses were delivered by the Chairman, the Rev. Dr Donald Macleod, and Alexander Mackenzie of the *Celtic Magazine*—the latter in Gaelic. A very attractive musical programme, Gaelic and English, having been gone through, a grand assembly concluded one of the most successful meetings ever held under the auspices of the Association. The Gaelic singing was particularly good.

WHERE TO GET MONEY FOR THE
STOCKING OF NEW AND ENLARGED CROFTS.

BY CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P.

THE CROFTER QUESTION has lately made great advance, for on 14th November last, friends pressed a motion which Government accepted, and there is recorded in the journals of the House of Commons these significant words—"Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of her Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or to apply such other remedies as they deem advisable, and that this House concurs in the opinion expressed by the Royal Commission at page 110 of its report, 'that the mere vindication of authority, and repression of resistance, would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain.'"

Legislation is now certain, and though the Home Secretary desiderated voluntary action, and fair landlords, like Lochiel, may be willing to make concessions even to their loss, it is idle to look for satisfactory remedies in this form, particularly if views, such as those promulgated by the Marquis of Lorne, in the December number of the *Contemporary Review*, are to be considered as those of the landlord class generally.

The opponents of the crofters having been driven back, chiefly by the report and evidence of the Royal Commissioners, from the position first taken up, and so long and strenuously defended by them, viz.—that there was no cause or necessity for amelioration—have now taken up a second line of defence. Granted, they say, that the crofters' position should be improved, how is this to be done? From whence is the money to come? It may be taken for certain that this line of argument will be defended with equal obstinacy, and supported by as many doubts and misrepresentations as the former.

To answer such queries is the object of this paper, and while in one sense it is premature to discuss what ought to follow on a position not yet legally assured, it is not so in another sense, were it merely to satisfy fossil Whigs of the member for Bedford type, who, in the debate on 14th November, specially challenged the writer on the point ; also a cynical individual, signing himself "C," who wrote to the *Times* on this subject, making invidious references by name.

Let us suppose the Legislature has sanctioned what the crofters desire—more land, fair rent fixed by a Land Court, security of tenure against eviction at any time, except for non-payment of rent, and option of purchase, all which must be very clearly stipulated, and nothing short of which should be listened to, then the question of stocking naturally and legitimately comes up. Now, it may at once be said, that any attempt to saddle crofters, with valuations of existing stocks, under the present iniquitous system of arbitration, cannot be permitted. The crofter must be allowed to purchase what stock he needs in the best and cheapest market.

Those who read the evidence laid before the Commissioners must be struck with the pathetic manner in which the crofters themselves dealt with the subject. The burden of the story was generally this, that they were now so reduced, so low, by hard times, high rents, etc., that they could not at once stock larger holdings ; but many said they could get on in a short time, while others said they looked for Government aid. All sturdily, and manfully, declined gifts ; no, they would repay what might be advanced to them with moderate interest. Cash alone is not the only desideratum. The writer brought out in many cases that a man's labour stood for his capital, and that a strong active young man, able and willing to work, might be said to be really possessed of as much capital as say a widow with £100, burdened with a young family.

We now indicate some of the sources from which the money for stocking and other purposes may be reasonably looked for.—

I. *From Deposits in the Savings and other Banks in the Highlands.*—To those familiar with these banks, it is well known that much of their permanent deposits comes from the crofter class, and

from single women connected with them. These monies are at present diverted from their legitimate channels, in the case of the Highland Bank, to other objects within its local range of operations; in the case of the others, to objects outside the districts, and too often outside Scotland, and in the case of the Savings' Banks entirely furth of the Kingdom. These depositors do not lend their savings and earnings now among their own class, because they know well that if devoted to improving the crofts, houses, or stocks, it simply means ultimate but certain confiscation by the landowners. But if these people saw that they could lend safely to their friends, it is inconceivable that they would not do so, when it would be to their own advantage, to the certain increase of the prosperity of the tiller of the soil, and to the permanent wealth of the country. There is no bank, it has been said, equal to, or so safe as land, but the land must be unfettered, free from increment confiscation, and where in any way practicable the tiller should be owner. Sites for building houses, and for garden and potato ground for fishing communities, cottars, and labourers, would be eagerly taken up and paid for by these bank depositors, if suitable and convenient land could be had. At present there is a perverse locking up of land in the Highlands and Islands, and the most grudging system of dealing with any permanent right. The now almost extinct system of Entail proved so derogatory to improvement, that nearly a century ago, it was modified to the extent of permitting ninety-nine years' building leases. Yet, the late proprietor of North Harris, a banker, and presumably of liberal education, actually introduced a rule of thirty-eight years' building leases, on an estate held in fee-simple, and in that part of it which ought to be a flourishing and progressive locality, viz., East Loch Tarbert. It is difficult to fix on the amount which would become available from this source, but it is moderately estimated at £250,000.

II. *A considerable increase might be looked for under the new state of things in the way of direct contributions by relatives in domestic service, or other employments at a distance.*—At present there is a good deal sent home, but it is done as a matter of necessity to help to pay the rent, to prevent eviction, or to pay for food and clothing, to prevent starvation. Nothing is sent for perman-

ent improvement of the croft, or houses, for the reason before mentioned—that confiscation ever stands in the path, a spectre deterrent and fatal—and thus no lasting benefit accrues to the people. But if it were certain that the home were permanent, then surely money would be sent cheerfully and in larger volume, not only from those in service and employment in this country, but also from abroad, to meliorate the croft and make it self-supporting; to rebuild the houses, add to the fences, and improve the stock. Persons so lending would know that their money was well applied, and when they revisited the home of their childhood, they would find it lasting and secure, with surroundings of which they had no cause to be ashamed. The sums from these sources would be of very considerable annual amount.

III. *From Private Benefactors.*—Much sympathy is expressed in various influential quarters with the crofters, and in our rich country it is not at all too much to expect that hundreds will be found ready to advance the £50 or £100 necessary, being first satisfied that the person to receive the advance is entitled to confidence, and that his subject may, with diligence, enable him to wipe off his debt within the time bargained. An appeal in this form could hereafter be made, and it will be, indeed, disappointing if not handsomely responded to. The backing up of one deserving crofter would be no great burden to a person of ordinary means, and it would be heavily to his or her credit here and hereafter.

IV. *Through Guaranteeing or Lending Companies to be formed for the purpose.*—The worthy Provost of Inverness some time ago proposed a scheme to help the crofters in stocking and purchasing lands, but it was extinguished on its appearance by an excellent man, who has done well in his day and generation for the Highlands, but, alas, from the unhappy views prevalent in his youth, abhors Gaelic, and does not look with favour on the crofting system. But, undaunted, the Provost has lately revived his scheme, and we wish it all success. The objects may be briefly stated to consist of lending cheaply to small owners and tenants, and guaranteeing advances by capitalists willing to lend. Provision for affecting stock with a lien, for certain purposes, must be enacted, which would materially help crofters,

and increase the work of such companies. Costs of transfers, bonds, searches, stamps, etc., must be reduced to a minimum, and if so, such companies might do a safe, remunerative, and patriotic business.

V. Government Loans.—We place these last, and after exhausting private sources. There is no reason to startle at the suggestion. Municipalities, wealthy beyond computation, as compared with crofters, get these loans, and there is no breach of principle in widening the allocation. Government aid could best be given, perhaps, through the agency of companies, as in No. 4. We do not indicate how it ought to be done, but do say that a million in this way advanced would do immense good; it would be spent in permanent and returning improvements, and not lost or thrown away in costly and useless wars, such as even the present Government, pledged to peace, find themselves engaged in.

For these and other causes which might be adduced, no fear need be entertained that money can be got for purchasing, stocking, and for improving crofts and houses. It must be kept in view that these schemes deal with, and include the poorer class of cottars, labourers, and squatters, whose condition is worse than that of the crofters. Two things should not be lost sight of, viz., that these benefits are intended for the industrious and well behaved only, who will have much to do in the form of personal labour and exertion—not for loafers, idlers, and men of unsteady and vicious habits; and that neither during life nor at death, shall the croft be divisible, if under a certain fixed annual value to be settled by Parliament.

C. F. M.

SPEECH BY THE REV. ANGUS MACIVER.

The following is the speech delivered by the Chairman—The Rev. Angus Maciver, minister of the Established Church, Uig, Lewis—at the Crofter Demonstration held in Stornoway on the 16th of October last, and referred to in our last issue at page 89. It seems harmless enough. He said—

I have to thank you for the great honour you have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over this great meeting, and for giving me this opportunity of once more publicly expressing some views in connection with the important matters which are agitating the Highlands at present, and our own Island in particular. I fully realise

THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION

And the responsibility resting on every one residing in these parts of Her Majesty's dominions. No one need think that he can now escape taking some share of that responsibility, whatever share he may choose to take, whether of a more public or private character. It would be well for all that they should immediately realise this fact and act accordingly. As to the political aspect of the great question now before the country at large, I mean the extension of the franchise, I do not mean to occupy much of your time. I agree with the view which is common and which is agreed upon by the two great parties in the state, viz.—That the franchise should be extended to the people, that they should have the power of voting for members of Parliament. As to how this is to be arranged and carried out it is not for me to say. The country at large, through its representatives in Parliament, will have to decide that question. I trust, however, that the decision of that question will be arrived at without disturbing any of our old and time-honoured institutions, which, in the past, have stood many a shock, and which for many centuries have shed lustre and glory on our country. When the din and heat of parties will have subsided, we expect to apply the language of Scripture to our venerable institutions, "To walk about them and go round them, telling the towers thereof, marking our bulwarks, considering our palaces, that we may tell it to the generation following. For God is our God for ever and ever." That this may be true with respect to all the great institutions of our country in the future as in the past, whatever changes they may have to undergo, so as to adapt them to the particular requirements of our time, is, I am sure, the sincere desire and prayer of all present. We have no desire or wish to have them removed. As there are, however, men beside me on the platform who are more competent to deal with those questions, I do not wish to say more about them. I simply wish to touch upon two other points. The first is that which goes now under the name of

THE CROFTER QUESTION.

It has now assumed such dimensions that it must be faced and settled, and with as little delay as possible. It looks as if it would soon be in a complicated state. The agitation and irritation will extend more and more unless something is done by Parliament in the matter. This is now so patent to all who can think that almost every one takes it for granted. To my mind there are very valid reasons both on the part of the crofters and of the country at large, why the question should be dealt with. The crofters are by far too confined in their holdings, and have had in the past very little encouragement given them to improve their circumstances. If anything like justice is to be done to them, the present Land Laws must be changed—more land granted to them, as well as security of tenure. Large farms and deer forests must be broken up and the people supplied with what of these will enable them to live with some comfort. No one with half an eye in his head will deny the necessity of something like this being done. The crofters have suffered too much in the past for the gratification and indulgence of others, and they ought now to be indulged a little themselves and to secure their liberty; and I hope the time is near at hand when this will be their happy lot. I beg to say for my native island, that there is no use, with its present population, to speak foolishly, as some have done, of graduating farms, or of large and small farms; but if the people are to be extricated from their present depressed and dangerous state, they must get all the lands therein divided into crofts, with the moorlands, on easy and equitable terms. My firm conviction is that nothing less will make the crofters of this island comfortable. Other parts of the Highlands may afford those graduating farms, but not

this poor populous island of ours. In any case the people should get of the land a sufficiency to make them comfortable, as far as it can do so, and the surplus population who are in quest of land should go where there is plenty of it to be had. I hold these views very strongly and decidedly, and would do all in my power to have them realised in fact. The other point to which I want to direct your attention for two or three minutes, is

THE COUNTER DEMONSTRATION

held here a fortnight ago, by members of the Association which has its head-quarters in Edinburgh. They called it a demonstration, but it seems to have been only the shadow of one. They should come here and see what a demonstration is, that they may remember in future to call things by their proper names. We are well aware what they had in view for some time past who made that attempt at a demonstration. They want to show themselves as the men and guides of the people here; but unfortunately for them the people don't listen to them; and they will more and more stop their ears against them, especially when they find out what they have in view. The sum and substance of it is this, that the Stornoway gentlemen want to show the Lews people that they are not to do anything without consulting them as to what they are to do, and how they are to do it. We in the country beg very respectfully, but very firmly, to decline their leadership and dictation. In future, I have no doubt, you will mark their movements and steer clear of them.

THE RIVAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Attach yourselves to the Highland Land Law Reform Association in London of which there are branches in this town, in Uig, and in other parishes through the island. The Association in Edinburgh to which they want you to attach yourselves has a very different object in view from the one in London. The Edinburgh Association asks for something, but it may be next to nothing, it is so meagre and compromising. What you want is the land and all the land on equitable terms, and that you may live with some ease and comfort. These are the broad, clear grounds, on which the London Association stands, and you are on that account fairly bound to support it. Many, if not the majority, of those of the Edinburgh Association have in view the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, and to deprive you of the patrimony which is yours by right, and to put it into the pockets of the landlords, or some such purpose. They managed, at any rate, to put the endowments of the schools into their pockets. I trust my countrymen will never be so foolish as to consent to such a transaction as that. Although the most of you don't avail yourselves at present of the benefits of these endowments, the day may be at hand when you will do so willingly. In the mean time, at any rate, the present Establishment is no burden upon you. It costs you nothing. In proof of my contention, that this is one main cause for the existence of the Edinburgh Association, Who were the most of those who took part in the meeting here a fortnight ago? You will find Dr Rainy, Edinburgh. Mr Lee, of Nairn, and others of similar views—men who have been for years running counter to your most cherished views, and who have at heart especially to sever the Church from the State, and to bring you ultimately completely under their power. They are using every effort to bring about this end. I trust my countrymen will not allow themselves to be misled by such men, and that you will keep firm hold of what you have got, and if there be things needing to be rectified in connection with Church and State, ask and ask again, until your petitions are granted. Raise your voices to this effect. Don't imagine that I am pleading with you to come to the Church of Scotland. That is a matter you have to choose deliberately for yourselves.

You will get plenty to dissuade you against such a step. I won't condescend to retaliate on those who do so, whenever they find opportunity. I have too much respect for your freedom and liberty to treat you in any such way. They should feel perfectly at ease now that you are almost all with them. What I ask you is to preserve the endowments, and not to allow any set of men to deprive you of them; for if you do so, you are doing an irreparable injury to the cause of God in the land. You would need more endowments than you have. I strongly and earnestly warn you against those men who are quietly but surely misleading you. I have no other object in view than your highest good, both for this life and that which is to come. No one in this island can in fairness say that I have not taken a deep interest in the temporal well-being of the people of my native island, and I feel equally interested in their spiritual well-being. And when I have the opportunity I must speak plainly to you. I feel confident that you will accept of my statements in that light, and that you will put no other construction upon them.

"PUNCH" ON HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM.—To the simple unofficial mind it would seem that the case of the "crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland" is about ripe for settlement. But as *Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs* observed, "there is a form in these things—there is a form." To examine an alleged grievance carefully, and deal with it equitably and promptly, may commend itself to the ordinary, but not to the official or Skeggsian judgment. The "form" must be observed. And what *is* the "form?" Well, it is usually so complex and prolix as to be difficult of full analysis. But given a grievance—like that of the Irish tenants any time within the last century, or the Scotch crofters now—there are heaps of things to be done before it can be righted. In the first place it must be ignored altogether until its assertion becomes too palpable to overlook. Then it must be pooh-poohed. When it enlists public sympathy as well as attracts public notice, it must be "inquired into"—by the long drawn process of a Commission, for choice. Whilst the Commission is sitting—or standing, or travelling, or whatever it chooses to do—things of course must be kept in abeyance, inopportune inquiry snubbed, friendly urgency denounced, protest protested against, any impatient action on the part of the sufferers sharply put down, in the interest of "law and order." The Commission takes its time—all Commissions do. Ultimately, however, it issues its "Report." And there matters stop, until the sufferers, or their advocates, make another stir. If that stir is mild, it is not noticed; if it is vigorous, it is denounced as violent; if it *is* violent, the Law is down upon it, unless—well, unless it is very, *very* violent, largely and formidably so, and *then* the fire begins to burn the stick, the stick begins to beat the dog, the dog to bite the pig, the pig to get over the stile, and the Old Woman gets home, or, in other words, the grievances get redressed. This—very briefly summarised indeed—is the official Skeggsian "form." It is open to some objection, such as waste of time, prolongation of suffering, provocation of crime, engendering of hatred, killing of gratitude in the bud, and final compulsory pushing off reform till it savours of revolution, redress until it shows like surrender. Without prejudging the case of these poor Crofters, it is too much to hope that, in dealing with it, the Skeggsian "form," of which we have already had so many disastrous and expensive examples, will *not* be adopted!—*Punch*.

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE AND THE LAND
AGITATION IN THE HIGHLANDS.

WHETHER the Duke of Argyll's published references to the Land Question in the Highlands carry conviction to the minds of his readers, or whatever opinions may be held among the well-informed as to the nett results on his own estates of the more or less rigorous application of the principles of political economy according to his Grace, all must be impressed with a sense of his scholarship, his wide knowledge of the subject, and the ability with which he presents his case. If the article on "Highland Land Agitation" in the *Contemporary Review* for December is to be taken as a criterion, we are afraid the Marquis of Lorne is likely to do little to uphold the literary character which his father has so successfully established for himself. The article in question is one tissue of pert puerilities, very deficient in good taste, and betraying lamentable ignorance of the present position and tendencies of events in the Highlands.

That the future MacCailean Mor should interest himself in the condition of the Highland people is most befitting, but we fear the spirit in which his Lordship approaches the subject is not one which will either conduce to his own proper understanding of it, or tend to excite in the minds of his countrymen very exalted notions of his present fitness to undertake the responsibilities attaching to his ancestral estates.

At the very outset he misstates the character of the Land Acts which were passed for Ireland in the years 1870 and 1881, describing the former as a measure of "charitable protection," and the latter as an "Act making all Irish cultivators part-owners of their farms." Honest Irish reformers, and the chiefs of the Liberal Government who passed those Acts, described them both as instalments of justice, not mere charitable doles, and as to some extent recognising not exactly "ownership in the farms," but a right of property in the improvements effected in their holdings by the ill-requited toils of the struggling and starving peasantry. Until his Lordship is prepared to acknowledge similar justice in the claims of his countrymen in the

Highlands, and their property in their own improvements, as well as their *natural* right of settlement on their native soil so long as they fulfil the duties of their position, his contributions to the solution of the Highland difficulty will only be effective to that end in a sense very different to that which his Lordship intended. Nero was fiddling when Rome was in flames, and the Marquis of Lorne is trifling when the Highland people are clamouring in a very significant, and, we believe, effective manner for the redress of their grievances, and when the artillery of the Restoration of the Rights of the people is being forced up to the gates of landlord citadels. Such lisplings as this article are no better than so many cobwebs spread over the cannon's mouth in the vain hope of obstructing the deadly shot. Let us quote a few of his Lordship's choicest flippancies. He finds special delight in making sport of the Royal Commission, and its warm-hearted, fair, and able Chairman, whose recommendation of a compulsory division of large farms the Marquis adduces as "a curious instance of the sympathy in predatory instinct between the Borderer and the Highlander," and which, he says, "has already produced lawlessness in the Islanders in certain districts." A little further on his Lordship repeats a similar sneer at Lord Napier in the following terms:—

"We may, I believe, be excused the consideration of the predatory recommendation of the compulsory taking of other men's land for the enlargement of crofts. This out-Herods anything ever proposed in Indian or Irish legislation, and the majority of any legislature may be trusted to suppose that a long course of sea-sickness had made the estimable and amiable chief of the Commission giddy when he penned it."

At page 83, we are informed that—

"A hundred years ago, war and small-pox, and other causes, made the Highland population a comparatively scanty one. . . . There are careful returns of many estates showing that a century ago the number of people was not nearly so large as it now is on properties such as those of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Macdonald, Macleod of Macleod, and the Duke of Argyll."

We do not know on what authority Lord Lorne makes this statement, but, taking his own County of Argyre as a test, we are disposed to question its accuracy. In the period between

1790 and 1798, according to the figures supplied in the Old "Statistical Account," the total population of Argyleshire was 76,101, while, notwithstanding that the town population of the county has more than doubled even during the past fifty years—from about 12,000 in 1831 to 30,387 according to the census of 1881—the population of Argyleshire at the census of 1881 was only 80,761. To go more into detail, at the time stated above—1790-98—the population of the Islands of Coll and Tyree was 3457; it is now 3376. The County of Sutherland at the first-named date had a population of 22,961, against 22,376 at the time of the last census. These figures should prove interesting to his Lordship.

Referring to evictions, he finds that "the Commissioners who lately took all evidence, with scarcely any sifting of the same, came across no cases of eviction carried out for the purpose of 'land clearance for sport.'" The Report of the Commission mentions one case; we could mention others, and have no doubt his Lordship could also furnish a few. He will find plenty instances of clearances to make room for sheep farms, and these are fast being turned into deer forests.

Here are one or two more of Lord Lorne's puerile deliverances on this important question.—

"The furnishing of men for the service of the State is good but the argument may be over-driven. City slums, and the poorest Irish, have furnished most soldiers; but none agree that slums should be kept, and Irish poverty encouraged, that the army ranks may be filled."

"There is no sufficient ground for taking the ownership from the present proprietors, for they have, according to the evidence given by the people, *not used their powers unjustly*."

Lord Lorne says again—

"Lord Napier appears to have such a horror of Irish land legislation that he has endeavoured to steer clear of anything like it." And yet the Commission is elsewhere charged by his Lordship with claiming legal sanction for one of the leading principles of the last Irish Land Acts, namely, fixity of tenure, as well as with compulsory division of large holdings. Here are the words—

"This has led him (Lord Napier) to try to make a special case of the Highlander by an attempt to revive the 'township' or village community. . . . He might as well propose that

all the people who still profess the old Highland second sight should receive pensions at the hand of the State, or that exceptional privileges should be conferred on all who can be proved to have had belief in the Evil Eye. . . . It will not do to let men call themselves a crowded community, and get enlargements at the expense of a thrifty and hard working farmer who happens to be nearest to them."

It is interesting to contrast with these inanities of the Marquis the large-hearted and manly speech delivered by Lochiel in the House of Commons on the 14th of November, in connection with Mr Macfarlane's motion calling upon the Government to take action without delay in the interests of the Highland crofters. The Marquis of Lorne and Lochiel, in their social relation to the question, may be regarded as in almost identical positions, yet the former seems to have nothing to present more pertinent to the subject than this article, which, did it not bear the signature of the Marquis of Lorne, an ex-Governor General of Canada, and the heir-apparent to the Dukedom of Argyll, would have been refused insertion by any publication of literary reputation in the kingdom. Apart even from its inanity as the result of the cogitations and inquiries of a would-be statesman, its very grammar is something to wonder at. In one sentence the Marquis writes of the Commission which "*has been appointed,*" and *has gone the round,*" and of "the report *they have issued.*" In another sentence there is a similar departure from the canons of Lindley Murray, when we are exhorted not to be afraid in "doing what we can for the Highlanders to spread the benefit *he* may receive, and do not suppose, because Lord Napier has sometimes found something like the Russian 'mir' to exist with *them*, that this constitutes them privileged beings," etc. Much worse, however, is the *non possumus* attitude which his Lordship takes up in relation to the chief recommendations of the Royal Commission; and it is here that the utterances of Lochiel—himself an extensive Highland landlord—shine in conspicuous contrast. He is quite prepared, notwithstanding that he expressed very strong dissent from the principal recommendations of the Commission, to "do all in his power to assist the Government in passing a measure even though its provisions should run counter to what he thought expedient," and he expresses the hope, though it might involve "some sacrifice on the part of the land-

lords, a solution might be arrived at which would confer benefit upon and bring contentment to the crofters, would satisfy their sympathisers, and would promote the welfare of the whole country."

If the landlords of the Highlands would only approach the question in this spirit, we would not despair of very soon seeing a measure passed, and other steps taken supplementary to mere legislation, which would restore peace and comparative prosperity among the Highland peasantry.

TWO STRATHGLASS PRIESTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

SIR,—I am much pleased to find in the *Celtic Magazine* for this month an extract in reference to Father Alexander Cameron of Lochiel and the Rev. John Farquharson, Priests in Strathglass, from the Dingwall Presbytery records, dated 27th April 1743. As the readers of your Magazine are already familiar with the contents of this curious extract, I need not repeat them. Suffice it to say that they do not breathe much charity towards my co-religionists and fellow-countrymen in Strathglass. But narrow-minded as the aim, scope, and tendency of the Dingwall extract unquestionably is, let me repeat that I feel obliged to the party who brought it to light. Independently of the flood of light it throws on old clerical proceedings at Dingwall, it enables one to trace the persecution of the two Priests, named in the extracts alluded to, clearly to its fountain head.

Briefly stated, it was thus :—The Rev. Alexander Cameron was apprehended, and sent off to a penal settlement, but was taken seriously ill, on the passage, and died in the hulks below London. The Rev. John Farquharson was apprehended twice; on both occasions he was sent out of Strathglass. The last time he was transported to Hanover. For a full account of these cases see *Celtic Magazine*, vol. vii., pp. 141-146. Here, I may add, on the authority of Bishop John Chisholm's letter to Sir John Sinclair, during the Ossianic controversy, that the Rev. John Farquharson was a Priest in Strathglass for the long space of thirty years. We know that he left Strathglass in obedience to the dignitaries of his order, when they selected him as Prefect of Studies for the Catholic College of Douay. The following is a slip which I have cut out of the *Inverness Courier*, 8th January 1884. It may well pass as a companion picture to the Dingwall extract :—

"In 1704 the General Assembly appointed Presbyteries to send in lists to the Clerks of her Majesty's Privy Council of all Papists within their bounds, the lists to contain the names and designations of the persons who entertain the Papists, and the names of the places where they are entertained, and so forth. In response to this, reports were sent in from a considerable number of Presbyteries, which, according to Dr Cunningham, who refers to the matter, brought out the fact that, while in some districts of the country Popery had been clean blotted out; in others, more remote from central influences, it remained almost entire. In the county of Selkirk there was not one Papist. In Athole there was only one and he a blind fiddler. But in South Uist and Barra, out of seventeen hundred examinable persons, only about seventeen were Protestants. In the islands of Canna, Rum, and Muck, out of five hundred examinable persons, only forty were Protestants. In Knoydart and Morar, out of seven hundred, all were Popish but four. In Arisaig, Moydart, and Glengarry, there was a population of fifteen hundred, and all were Papists but one man. In these districts there was no distinction between Saturday and Sabbath: the thick darkness of a state not much above heathenism was unbroken."

If I were a native of any of the above-mentioned islands or districts, alleged to have been without any "distinction between Saturday and Sabbath," I would endeavour to ascertain whether the statement was founded on facts, or was the mere outcome of a fertile imagination.—I am, &c.,

COLIN CHISHOLM.

Inverness, December 10, 1884.

ST KILDA OR HIRTA.

AT the December monthly meeting of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, Mr Alexander Ross, Architect, F.G.S., read an interesting paper descriptive of a recent visit to St Kilda. Mr Ross dealt more at length with the geological aspect of the island than with the history or social condition of its people; but the following notes on the latter will, we think, prove interesting to the readers of the *Celtic Magazine* :—

On our arrival in the bay we observed a slight commotion amongst the people, and one or two neighbours evidently began to talk over our appearance in the bay. Some began to move along the main thoroughfare, or High Street as it is called, which passes along the fronts of the houses, and by the time they reached the north end of the village, nearest the landing place, the procession, increased by the minister and schoolmaster, amounted to some 18 or 20 people. They immediately ran out a boat, and four men came off to us. They seemed active, healthy fellows, and shook hands with us all.

Till the time of Captain Otter the dwelling-houses seemed to have been entirely constructed of stone, with thatched roofs. On the occasion of one of his visits a storm arose, when he had to put to sea. He returned after some three days, and found the houses unroofed. He immediately steamed away to the mainland, and got subscriptions for iron and zinc roofs, which remain till this day an eyesore and a disfigurement to the island. Mr Mackenzie, Fort-William, whose father was minister, told me of the first proposal for improved houses, from the stone roof and wall beds to modern life, was made in the year 1830, at the instigation of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder. On that occasion, Sir Thomas offered a premium for each man who would build a house with chimneys and other improvements, and entrusted the Rev. Mr Mackenzie with the money to pay the man who should move first. Mr Mackenzie found the money of little use, and not so coveted, and he resolved to try tobacco. At that time the total currency of the island was only 17s. 6d., so that money was of little value. He offered the first man who should lay in foundations one pound of tobacco, and so a beginning was made. One man built a house, and won the prize; next year three more began, and the premium had to be reduced to a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a lb.

The original houses, of which only one specimen, I believe,

now remains, were built of stone throughout, and the beds were mere recesses in the walls, almost level with the floor. The cattle lodged in the same apartment.

The houses were only cleaned out once a year, and the result was that the accumulation of straw and turf so raised the floors that the people had to roll down into their beds or sleeping berths. In the new houses there were to be a but and a ben and a closet, and the cattle were to be put outside. Since these times the people have learned the value of money, and to enjoy much of the luxuries of civilised life. Indeed, they run a great risk of being spoiled by the visitors who go there in considerable numbers annually.

I may here give one or two anecdotes of the older times, for, though banished out into mid-ocean and away from the busy throng of business, yet they have their social and economic troubles, and caste and set prevails as elsewhere, and lovers quarrel too. During the time that Mr Mackenzie was minister—1830 to 1840—there was only one breach of promise case, and it was tried in open court, at the end of the church, before the ministers and elders. The lady proved her case against the truant, and he was fined, and ordered to pay, not a £100, but a 100 full-grown fulmars, 50 googs (or young solan geese), and a hair rope, as a solatium and a tocher in the next matrimonial venture. This latter article was by far the most important part of the fine, as the hair rope was necessary for carrying on the bird-catching, etc., and gave great importance to its possessor. By the frequent visits of tourists and yachtsmen, and the liberal gifts of wine, and clothes of the latest fashion, the St Kildean has ceased to be the simple unsophisticated mortal he was 30 years ago, and though by no means spoiled nor importunate in his demands, he is, I believe, degenerating like some other of the Highlanders, and is not ashamed to accept any gift, if not to beg them. I fancy the St Kildean by this time is a better judge of port wine than the following story would indicate:—On one occasion, during the time of Mr Mackenzie above referred to, a cask of curious stuff came ashore on the west side, and after careful assay and trial it was pronounced good stuff. The report spread, and amongst others, the minister went to see the stuff. He found the cask half empty, and, on enquiring, ascertained that the people had filled the skins and intestines of the fulmars with it, and hung them up to the roofs of the houses, and that they were using what turned out to be very good port wine with their porridge, instead of milk. What flavour the fulmar gave it is not recorded. But I don't believe the native of to-day would make such a mistake.

Another anecdote illustrates the simplicity of the islander:—

Mr Mackenzie had been lecturing to the people on geography, and trying to make them understand that there were other people than those of St Kilda in the world, and they were much interested in his account of the South Sea Islanders. Shortly after, a number of shipwrecked seamen found their way into a cave on the west side, and being discovered by the natives, they were hailed in English and Gaelic, and getting no response, they were reported as being an entirely new race, and probably a party of South Sea Islanders. The Minister hailed them in German and French without results, till his Latin, "Ini Genti," brought out the response "Hispania." These men were cared for, and lived five months on the island.

The schoolmaster told me how difficult it was for him to make the children realise what a tree was, and, by means of drawings, he tried to let them know that there was variety amongst the trees, and held up a drawing in the hope of it being identified. After a time the class came to the conclusion that it was the "Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil." There is no tree or bush on the island, nettles being, perhaps, the highest form of vegetation growing on it. They never whistle, and their only instrument is the Jews harp.

The inhabitants are strict observers of the Sabbath, and will not even carry their milk home on that day, but leave it in the ground over Sunday, taking it home on Monday.

In a small glen there is a sacred well, Tober-nam-buadh; it is said to have many virtues, and in former times the people drank its water, and placed offerings into it. This glen is dotted over with little stone huts or claitans, and is beautifully green with short sweet grass. In this glen there is the remains "of a curious dome-shaped building, nine feet diameter, with three beds in it. It was said to have been occupied by an Amazon, who used to hunt all the way to Harris before St Kilda was an island. Externally, it resembles a little green hill."

I shall now briefly notice the people. Though the island is mentioned by Boethius and Buchanan, the first account is that of Dean Munro of the Isles, who visited and described the Western Isles in 1594. His description is, however, short, and contains no very interesting fact. He says "Macleod of Herryay, or his steward, arrived in a boat there at midsummer, with some chaplaine to baptize their bairnes, and if they want a chaplain they baptize them themselves;" and further, that "the inhabitants are a simple and poor people, scarce learnt in any religion;" and, he says, "the steward receives their duties in miell and reistit mutton, wyld fowles reistit, and selchis."

The next to notice the island is Martin, who visited it in 1697, and from then till now various writers have described it, and have given the statistics of the population.—

Thus Martin, in 1697, gives 27 families — total, 180
 „ Macaulay, in 1758, 27 „ „ 88

This difference is accounted for by a disease which in 1724 swept away more than half the inhabitants. It was supposed to have been small-pox.

The population continued low till 1799, when it is set down at 100. In 1822, according to Macdonald, the population was 108. In 1851, according to the Government Census, the number was 110. Since then it has diminished to 76 in 1877. There were 19 families at this latter date.

This diminution was caused by emigration in 1856, when 36 of the inhabitants went to Australia. Most of them, however, died, and in 1861 only about 13 survived. They were then doing well.

The present inhabitants are good-looking, healthy, and intelligent, and the children are active and healthy. I had the pleasure of seeing them at their lessons in school, and out of the number attending, there were eight boys and nine girls. The names of the people are :—

Gillies, of which there were 27 in 1871.			
Macdonald	„	16	„
Ferguson	„	10	„
Mackinnon	„	8	„
Macqueen	„	8	„
And Mackay, minister and registrar		2	„

Total—71

In former years there were Macleods and Morrisons, but these have apparently died out. It is curious that the island has been in possession of the Macleods for 300 years, and that there is now none of that name now on the island.

The expression and general character of the people reminded me of Shetlanders or Scandinavian much more than the Celtic Highlanders. They had a rather long aquiline and pensive cast of feature, with well marked eyebrows. They are well made, and about middle size ; the men being more graceful in their movements than the women, besides being more stylish in their dress.

The women's dress struck me as being clumsy and ill made. This may be accounted for by the fact that the men do the sewing, and make the ladies' dresses, in addition to their own shoes and clothing. The personal ornaments seemed few, I mean of native manufacture, but they hammer out pennies and half-pennies into brooches and pins. Beyond these I saw little ornament other than common wooden Birmingham goods. Of curiosities there were few.